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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1441

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON STATUS OF CHURCH IN SOVIET BLOC

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 24 Jun 77 p 21

[Article by Alfred Schickel: "Alternating Hot and Cold Treatment for Religious Believers--The Situation of the Church in Eastern Europe"]

[Text] If the Western mass media deal at all with the internal situation in the East bloc countries, it is with the fate of dissidents; the church, which has been exposed to bitter persecution for decades, is scarcely deemed worthy of a report here in this country. This conclusion was reached by the prior of the Ettal Monastery (Bavaria), P. Angelus Graf Waldstein, in a speech before the Catholic City Educational Institute in Ingolstadt.

The state authorities in Albania punish the baptism of children, the holding of religious services, and even the use of Christian names with severe prison terms; in 1974 they executed a 74-year-old priest for baptizing an infant. The barely 2 million Albanians are constitutionally obligated to raise their children as communists, to refrain from "founding any organization of a religious nature," and to support "atheistic propaganda"; for "the state recognizes no religion." Despite these drastic prohibitions and persecutions, religious feeling is astir in Albania, and youth in particular is seeking deeper answers than the Communist Party provides. Of the 10 to 12 priests remaining, i.e. not executed, there, 10 are in concentration and labor camps, according to the last reports. The remaining ones are sought by warrant by the state police.

In neighboring Bulgaria around 3 million of the 8.3 million inhabitants overall profess the Christian religion, including the approximately 80,000 Catholics concentrated in the bishopric of Nikopol and the apostolic vicarage of Sofia. Since the papal visit of Bulgarian chief of state Zhivkov these two sees have been occupied again since 1976. The strong atheistic propaganda against religion on the part of the party and the state continues unabated, however, although no direct persecution of Christians is known of at this time.

In Yugoslavia the militant persecution of the church ebbed after Tito's deviation from the Kremlin's hard line in 1947/48 and the swing toward

reformed communism. As a result of the opening to the West, a dialog with the Vatican was even possible and led finally to diplomatically regulated relations between Rome and Belgrade, the only ones which thus far exist between the Holy See and an East-bloc country. The Yugoslav Constitution valid since 1946 is currently interpreted more liberally than earlier. According to it "the citizens are guaranteed freedom of conscience and freedom of religious belief," church and state are separated, and "religious communities whose teachings do not violate the constitution are free in the practice of their religious rites." According to Article 25 of the Yugoslav Constitution, "the state can materially support religious communities." It is true that the same article also states: "The abuse of church and faith for political purposes and the existence of political organizations on a religious basis are prohibited."

Only With Restrictions

Communist state policy affects the church in Romania incomparably more severely. Statistically three-fourths of the 19,287,000 inhabitants of the country are Orthodox and barely a quarter Catholic. Barely one-half of the Romanian Catholics can still, with restrictions, practice their faith, while the Catholics of the Byzantine rite are totally thwarted in the exercise of their religion. Since 1.2 million of the roughly 3 million Catholics in Romania are of Hungarian descent and another quarter are of German descent, the Romanians themselves constitute a vanishing minority, but since chief of state Ceaucescu is currently pursuing a strong anti-nationality course, the Catholics in this country are still particularly affected by this national state policy along with the atheistic propaganda.

Of the six Roman Catholic dioceses in Romania (Karlsburg [Alba Julia], Jassy [Jasi], Sathmar [Satu Mare], Grosswardein [Oradea Mare], Temeschburg [Timisoara], and Bucharest) only the episcopal see of Karlsburg is properly occupied; on the other hand, the seminary of Jassy is also open, so that young men can prepare themselves for the priesthood in two theological training institutes.

In Hungary a truce has been in effect between the state and the Catholic Church since the recall and death of Cardinal Mindszenty. The diplomatic efforts of the Vatican have succeeded in filling the previously vacant episcopal sees, though it remains to be seen whether the most suitable candidates were always appointed, but presumably no other solution was possible. The increasing religious fervor of the 10.3 million Hungarians overall and the continuing alienation of youth from the party line are not only causing the number of applicants to the nine existing seminaries to increase continually, but also causing the state party to give greater consideration to the concerns of the church, without indeed really losing sight of its declared goal of rooting out religion.

The Communist Party in Poland must accommodate itself to even greater tolerance toward the church. In the land "under the two red hats"

(cardinal's hat and party secretary's hat) not only a fully intact church organization with completely filled episcopal sees, but also a deeply rooted popular piety insure that the priests' seminaries are always overcrowded. The alliance of the people and the church is repeatedly expressed in many signs; the Poles indeed owe to Rome and the pope their state organization in the Middle Ages, their continued existence as a nation in the 18th and 19th centuries, and their survival as a people under the Nazi regime. At the same time the church is for many Poles the only protecting and protected refuge of the resistance against the party and Marxist communist ideology.

Great Strength of Faith

The Christians in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic demonstrate a similar strength of faith, though they lack a leader such as the Catholic Poles have in Cardinal Wysinski. Nevertheless the Soviet authorities have had to be more cooperative with the Lithuanian Catholics in recent years than formerly and even to approve the entry of the Berlin bishop, Cardinal Alfred Bengsch, to visit a Lithuanian colleague 2 years ago.

The Soviet authorities in the remaining areas and republics of the USSR behave far more restrictively. The "law governing religious associations" of 23 June 1975 prohibits every act of worship--even in private homes--without state approval for the entire "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" and no longer excludes burial ceremonies from approval, so that the churches currently feel more state supervision and control than under Lenin and Stalin. In this connection the date of the new law, June 1975, is not without interest, since it took effect only a few weeks before the meeting of the CSCE in Helsinki.

Despite these state restrictions and hindrances, in January 1976 the "chairman of the council for religious affairs in the Council of Ministers of the USSR," Kurodov, had to admit that "more than 20,000 Orthodox churches, Catholic churches, Jewish synagogues, Lutheran churches, and Islamic mosques are operating" in the Soviet Union, which makes for an increase of around 2 percent over earlier times.

Moreover, the figure cited by Kurodov applies only to the "legalized" churches, thus excluding the united Greek Catholic Church of the Ukraine and the Baptist community, which live exclusively underground. According to reliable internal estimates, roughly 24 percent, i.e. about 60 million people, of the 242 million inhabitants of the USSR belong to the Christian churches. Of these the groups of more highly placed or better educated Soviet citizens make up a growing proportion, as confirmed by reports on officers, academics, and qualified skilled workers who want to marry in church and have their children baptized.

The situation of the church in Czechoslovakia seems bleaker than in most regions of the Soviet Union. The 14.3 million inhabitants of the CSSR

have been under increasing moral constraint since the entry of the Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 and can organize themselves ecclesiastically only in isolated instances, especially since a great many vicarages are unfilled and most of the episcopal sees are deserted. The existence of the religious communities is made more difficult from year to year, so that one can speak of a systematic starvation of the church. The former acolyte and current strong man of the CSSR, Dr Gustav Husak, seems to want to make a complete job of the persecution of the church. Beyond the customary Marxist disparagements, his Communist Party seeks to discredit the church as the "fifth column of the West" and to accuse it of secret contacts with organizations in the FRG in order to degrade it in the eyes of the citizens. Despite this manifold chicanery, an increase and strengthening of religious needs can also be observed in Czechoslovakia, in the course of which groups of young people often demonstratively profess their religion and give hope to the church.

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CSO: 2300

ALBANIA

QUALITY OF NEW PARTY MEMBERS EMPHASIZED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Jul 77 p 1

[Article: "Quality of Those Admitted--A Constant Duty for Party Organs and Organizations"]

[Text] The proletarian nature and the quality of communists has always been a main prerequisite so that the party always remains revolutionary. "The party," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress, "has always viewed the question of the constant strengthening of its social content as being closely related to a number of factors but most of all to the quality of communists as proletarian vanguard fighters."

As a living organization, the party has a constant need for new blood. It assures this by admitting new members and thus renewing and constantly expanding its ranks. The growth of the party in both numbers and quality is a necessity for its very existence. Put in its work to expand its ranks the party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that it needs pure blood because, as Comrade Enver teaches us, we must have a strong and refined party especially in regard to quality. Therefore, our party has always devoted special attention to the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, and the determination to defend and implement its line always and everywhere. It is the correct line of the party, its leading role, and the quality of its members which have attained all the victories of the party and our people and which guarantee all successes in the future.

To ensure the quality of its members, our party has set clear revolutionary criteria and guidelines both in its statute and in the decrees of the Central Committee. It is essential that every communist and party organization knows these norms thoroughly and that they fight consistently for their application. It is also necessary that the nonparty masses become more acquainted with them because it is important to the masses who enters the ranks of the party. Therefore we must acquaint the masses better with these norms and we must attract their sound thoughts and judgments on those who are admitted to the ranks of the party.

In every period of its life and activity our party has fought for itself and the high quality of its members as vanguard fighters. It has admitted to its ranks as members the best sons and daughters of the people, those who are most conscientious and tempered as revolutionaries, the most loyal and determined for the party cause, distinguished in the building of socialism and in the defense of the fatherland. But the increasing of demands during the probation period and the Marxist-Leninist further training and tempering of the quality of party members constitute a permanent duty for the party organs and organizations.

Some basic organizations do not show the necessary concern for the moral and political qualities of those whom they admit, but limit themselves to their work qualifications and biographic aspects. Of course, these things are essential and the demands on them must be further strengthened but they are insufficient for admission to the party because work norms and duties are achieved by thousands of workers, while other, higher qualities are demanded of a party candidate. He is required to distinguish himself by political-ideological maturity, revolutionary spirit and a feeling of sacrifice, by a spirit of revolutionary initiative, by ties with the masses as a social activist, and by determination to defend and implement the party line which directly and consistently wages the class struggle everywhere and under all circumstances. Liberal, opportunist, and sentimental attitudes are impermissible and have damaging consequences for the party because they open the door for untrained, careerist, conformist and other elements which gnaw away from the inside and become social support to its enemies. As such, they must be vigorously combatted everywhere and every time they appear.

Our party has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that the revolutionary party of the working class must be proletarian not only in ideology, but also in social composition. Therefore now as in the future it will give priority to increasing its ranks from the working class, especially from the main branches of production such as heavy industry, mining and processing, the great factories, with workers who have as high a class consciousness as possible. The Congress demanded that more communists be admitted from these fronts because some of them, according to need, will go to other sectors and branches of activities.

At the same time, the strengthening of the party with communists from the cooperatives still remains an important duty for plenums, committees and basic organizations of the party with a view to having them in second place next to workers in the future.

We must fight against harmful sectarian viewpoints. There are organizations which despite their needs have not made any admissions for a long period or which accept women into their ranks only with difficulty. The 7th Party Congress set the task that women be admitted into the ranks of the party at an even higher rate of speed. Therefore the party forums and basic organizations must not slacken in their concern for preparing female comrades to

enter the party and helping them closely and continuously to become tempered with the qualities of a communist.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the expansion, strengthening and tempering of the party must be done according to a scientific study. To do this heedlessly and to handle the question of admissions on an impromptu basis is a serious error. Therefore the ideological work of organizations, collectives and individuals must be strengthened with the most distinguished activists, especially from the ranks of youth, which is the nursery of the party, to prepare them and admit them into the party. We must make these problems the concern of all basic organization and of every member of the party, and not only of party committees, secretaries, and apparatuses.

An important role in the enhancing of the quality of the party ranks is played by the ideological-political and social tempering of the candidate during the probation period. This must not be a probation period only for appearance's sake, but rather a true testing period for the candidate. The 7th Party Congress set the duty that we must further perfect this proven system of revolutionary tempering according to all the demands and orders of the party. Special attention must be given to the Marxist-Leninist training of the party candidate and his education in the party policies and teachings. The objectives which are set should be as specific and verifiable as possible and the party commands us that the activity of the candidate should be under the strict supervision of the basic party and mass organizations.

The probation stage of a candidate is undoubtedly a period of testing during which he will be tested as to whether or not he deserves to be a member of the party. But this does not mean that once he enters the party the demands upon him will cease. A communist is tested during this whole life and the demands upon him grow in proportion to the tasks which each stage of the revolution brings. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the candidate period is only a first step in the revolutionizing of a communist whereas this revolutionizing is a continuous and unbroken process.

CSO: 2100

AWP ORGAN REPORTS SCIENTIFIC SESSIONS ON CLASS STRUGGLE

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Issue No 6, Jun 77 pp 45-68 AU

[Report by Ndreçi Plasari: "The Class Struggle in the Party, a Guarantee to Remain Always the Revolutionary Party"--from the proceedings of the scientific sessions on the development of class struggle]

[Excerpts] The class struggle in the party of the working class reflects the existing class contradictions and the class struggle waged in the society.

The party is the class struggle's guide for destroying the old world and building the new socialist and communist society. As such, it stands in the forefront of the clashes with the class enemies. The destiny of the revolution--of the great struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist and capitalist road for the development of the society--depends on the ideology, policy and leading skill of the party. Thus, it is natural that the enemies direct their counterblows and blows mainly against the party.

Although younger than many other parties, our party has been able to work out and implement, in all stages of its existence, a correct Marxist-Leninist line and to secure vital victories for the Albanian people because, as noted by the Seventh Congress, the party, faithfully implementing Marxism-Leninism, "has firmly adhered to the line of the class struggle and has consistently waged this struggle against both the external and internal enemies, as well as among the people and within its ranks."

The steel-like ideological and organizational unity of our party, which has characterized it during its entire lifetime, is linked with this very correct and resolute struggle. The enemies' plans designed to destroy our party, or turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, have failed because they have not found and have not been able to create cracks in the party, in general, and its central committee, in particular. In the Soviet Union and other countries the revisionists have

divided the respective communist and workers parties. This facilitated their destructive efforts to liquidate these parties' proletarian nature.

The Edge of the Class Struggle in the Party Is Primarily Directed Against the Enemies and the Hostile Activity Within Ranks

As is known, enemies and traitors have, from time to time, emerged from the party's ranks. Although in number they have been very few, their dangerousness has been of a great degree. This dangerousness is not linked either to their number or to their support in the party and among the people because this support they did not have. They endangered the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order in general by the important official positions which they managed to get in the leading organs of the party, the regime, the economy and the army. They endangered them also by being agents of the external enemies. Encouraged, supported and assisted by the imperialists and the revisionists, their aim was to seize the fortress from within, trying to divert the party from the Marxist-Leninist path, obliterate its revolutionary line and leadership, liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and lead the country to subordination to one or the other bourgeois-revisionist and imperialist states.

In our party, revisionism has not been able to take root and win because the bourgeois-revisionist diseases have systematically been resisted--a resistance which has prevented these diseases from overrunning and subduing the party organs and organizations--and because the hostile activity has not been tolerated to grow, nor have the views and the activity of the traitors been able to impair the party's unity.

It is known that the hostile elements within the ranks of our party, linked with one another, have managed to form also some fractional groups. However, these hostile groups have been destroyed before being able to become a trend--in the way described by Stalin's "party within the party"--and emerge with a contradictory antiparty line.

The Koci Xoxe group was very dangerous. The hostile activity of this group had spread in several fields. Nevertheless, the anti-Marxist views, which were at the very base of this activity, failed to crystallize as a line in itself. The 11th Central Committee Plenum (in September 1948) and the First Party Congress (in November), which assessed the political line for the 1945-48 period, concluded that in the party there were not two lines, but only one line which, in general, was correct, although within it there were also a number of distortions. These distortions were certain wrong anti-Marxist theses and practices smuggled into the line and activity of the party by this treasonous group, preaching theses and practices of the Trotskyite-revisionist Yugoslav ideology and policy.

In recent years the party uncovered and liquidated the hostile groups of F. Pacrami and T. Lubonja; B. Balluku, P. Dume and H. Cako; and A. Kellezi, K. Theodhosi and K. Ngjela.

As specified by the Seventh Party Congress, these groups, which operated in close connection and cooperation between themselves and in coordination with some foreign revisionist states, posed "a great and very dangerous plot." With the first group operating in the field of ideology and culture the second in the army and the third in the economy, the aim of the enemies was to destroy the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist socioeconomic order and to turn Albania into a bourgeois-revisionist country. To achieve this goal, they had planned to organize also an armed putsch, which would have been supported by a military intervention from abroad, through the traitors in the army.

Thus the danger was very great. The traitors did as much harm as they could in the sectors where they worked before they were uncovered, taking advantage of the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, weakening of vigilance and control, failure to implement completely the communist principles and norms and the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the party organizations and state organs in the respective sectors. Nevertheless, the recent hostile groups, just as the previous ones were uncovered and destroyed before they could manage to crystallize into opposing revisionist trends and lines in the party. Once uncovered and struck by the Central Committee, they were struck and smashed by the entire party and all the people. All the communists and workers solidly sided with the decisions of the Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha, and rose against the traitors and their antiparty, antisocialist and anti-national activity.

This experience in the struggle against the enemies and their treacherous activity in our party objectively shows the existence of a great constant danger regarding the creation of fractional trends and opposing anti-Marxist lines in the ranks of the party of the working class. It simultaneously shows also that the birth and crystallization of such trends and lines are not fatalistic. Their path can be barred, and unity can be preserved and consolidated.

Now, Has Our Party Managed Not To Allow the Crystallization of Opposing Fractional Trends and Revisionist Lines and Timely Uncover and Destroy the Enemies and the Hostile Activity In Its Ranks?

"A Marxist-Leninist party, which is respected as such," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "cannot tolerate the existence of two lines in the party. Hence it cannot tolerate the existence of a fraction, or many fractions. And even if this occurs, the party cannot and must not tolerate their existence, even for a short time." (Enver Hoxha, reports and speeches 1967-68, page 39-40) guided by this Marxist-Leninist principle, our party has, in the first place, waged a preventive struggle to bar the paths to the dangers and cut the roots and curb the sources of the opposing fractions and lines of the enemies and their hostile activity.

The AWP has always been consistent in its Marxist-Leninist line. Prior to defining its programmatic duties and determining its position on basic

matters of its internal and external policy, the AWP has thoroughly considered all situations, and acted, neither hastily nor belatedly, with the greatest sense of responsibility toward the Albanian working class and people, as well as toward the world proletariat and revolution, always in the light of the Marxist-Leninist principles. After making decisions, it has firmly tried to implement them, fully convinced of the correctness of its revolutionary line. Vacillation and indecisiveness in decisions making, attitudes and tachwords and unprincipled alterations in matters of internal and external policy, subordinating it to the moment's conjunctures or simply to utilitarian and pragmatic reasons--all this causes confusion and corruption and creates ground for opposing fractions and lines and hostile activity in the ranks of the party.

The AWP has not allowed itself to be intoxicated by successes, fall into megalomania and be captivated by euphoria because of its strong unity, its correct line, its sound ties with the masses and because of the great victories achieved under its leadership. To oppose and not tolerate complacency, megalomania and euphoria means to destroy the ground of the petit bourgeois and revisionist worm in order to prevent it from entering the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and destroying them from within.

Lack, or weakness, of revolutionary vigilance for whatever reason constitutes the same danger. "The party's vigilance, its great experience and its revolutionary perception and calmness," Comrade Enver Hoxha said in connection with the uncovering and liquidation of the recent treacherous and conspiratorial groups, "made it possible to uncover this hostile activity in its entire dangerousness and extent." (Enver Hoxha, the closing speech at the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum, 29 May 1975.) Our revolutionary experience, the party teaches us, should never forget and underestimate the great dangers threatening it through the aims and the activity of the external and internal class enemies and by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Only by remaining always vigilant and clearly recognizing the enemies and their destructive methods, forms and means of activity can the dangers be forestalled and the pathway for the opposing revisionist trends and lines be barred.

Our party has been able to destroy the hostile activity, pursue always a correct line and continually preserve and strengthen unity also through its ever principled revolutionary attitude maintained toward shortcomings and mistakes. The proletarian party is not afraid of admitting mistakes and shortcomings in its policy or its activity in practice. But it is as important to recognize mistakes and shortcomings as it is to be determined and know how to fight to the end to correct them. Mistakes, weaknesses and aversions which are not uncovered and fought in time and by revolutionary methods create grounds for the enemies' activity and become a source for revisionist groups, trends and platforms. "Any tolerance, abuse liberalism and underestimation of mistakes and shortcomings," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, "are fraught with incalculable mischief and

ruin the situation. Apart from the enemies, no one would like the occurrence of such a situation. Yet, it can happen, if we all fail to fight like a single body round the party...against these manifestations." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, page 284)

The ever revolutionary and clear-cut attitude against the antiparty groups, when such groups have managed to crop up in its ranks, has been decisive for the Marxist-Leninist line and unity of the party, thereby correctly assessing their dangerousness and opposing and destroying them to the end to prevent them from turning into opposing trends and lines.

Unquestionably, the struggle against antiparty elements, groups and views is primarily an ideological struggle as is the whole class struggle in the party. Through this struggle, which has continued even after the destruction of one group and another, their anti-Marxist views have been exposed and smashed and firm beliefs have been created among the communists and workers about the hostile nature of these views which led the traitors to their activity against the party and the socialist order. But the ideological struggle can never achieve its goal, if it is not combined with organizational and political measures. The party "has never," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "failed to patiently use means of clarification and persuasion with all those who have betrayed and joined the antiparty and antipeople path. But when the cup was full and the facts were evident, it unhesitatingly threw them out of its ranks and turned those implicated in the conspiracy over to the court, which also chopped off the heads of some of them. The enemies wept for them, whereas the people rejoiced that these traitors were liquidated." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-73, page 284) This is a profound revolutionary Marxist-Leninist attitude. The revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot fail to use violence against the enemies of the party, people and socialism. There is no other way to resolve the contradictions between us and the enemies. To try to resolve these contradictions in the same way as the contradictions within the ranks of the people are resolved means to fall into positions of idealism and religious soft-heartedness and to relinquish the class struggle.

The principal point is that in our country the struggle against the hostile elements and groups has always been a principled struggle and it has never been allowed to degenerate into a struggle between individuals. This struggle has been waged not only by the Central Committee, but by the whole party and all the people, who have always had their say, assisting the party to unmask and radically crush the anti-Marxist and antisocialist views and activities of one traitor or another, or a hostile group. Therefore, this struggle has also scored so many successes.

Our party has also been protected from the dangers of catastrophic divisions and creation of hostile lines and trends by its revolutionary, resolute and consistent attitude against any foreign interference. Only

an attitude of this kind managed to forestall the efforts of the Yugoslav revisionists designed to turn the Koci Xoxe's group into an anti-Marxist trend on a party-wide scale. This group had turned into a faction which wanted to secure this Trotskiyite-revisionist trend in order to liquidate the Marxist-Leninist line of the party. The efforts by the Khrushchevite revisionists made directly by and through Liri Belishova and Koco Tashko to divide the Central Committee and the party were also destroyed, their aim was to impose on our party their anti-Marxist course. As confirmed also by the uncovering and destruction of the last hostile groups, all the external enemies of Marxism-Leninism have encouraged and supported the traitors within the ranks of our party so that through them they would be able to sow the seed of discord and revisionism in the party. However, the cards of the enemies have always been burned in their hands in the face of the determination by the party not to tolerate any foreign interference and to always pursue only one Marxist-Leninist line.

The Class Struggle In the Party Is Waged Against Any Manifestation Alien To Its Ideology, Policy and Communist Norms

To secure always a correct Marxist-Leninist line, a steellike ideological and organizational unity, and communist qualities for [party] members, the class struggle has had and always has a great importance. The party has waged and is incessantly waging this struggle within its ranks against the manifestations alien to its ideology, line and proletarian norms reflected in the attitudes, behavior and activity of communists, in the performance of one basic party organization or another and one leading organ or another.

It should be said from the outset that it is impossible to have no alien manifestations whatever, no negative phenomena in the ranks of the party organizations and leading organs and in the ranks of communists so long as the struggle continues and will sharply continue between the socialist and capitalist roads, between socialism and capitalism, on a national and international scale for ultimate victory. The aim of the [class] struggle is that alien manifestations should not be allowed to grow. They should be crushed and not allowed to turn into diseases, and diseases should not become incurable and choke the party of the working class and turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, as is the case with the CPSU and the other former communist parties. This goal can be achieved only by opposing through revolutionary methods any alien manifestation together with the source of their occurrence.

The Dangers Threatening the Party and the Struggle Against Them

What are the dangers which threaten the party and against which it has fought incessantly in order to always remain a revolutionary party of the working class?

The Seventh Party Congress noted that "the class struggle waged during the entire existence of the party, as well as recently, has shown that

the main danger and enemy of our party, as well as of the whole international revolutionary communist and workers movement, has been and remains the rightist opportunism, revisionism." (Enver Hoxha, Report at the Seventh AWP Congress, page 128)

All the enemies and traitors which have emerged from the party ranks have been rightist. In the hostile and rightist views and activity we see reflected the pressure of the external and internal class enemies, according to the specific historical stages and conditions. The views and the activity of the traitors, who were uncovered and destroyed in the last few years, embodied--in some cases less and in others more--the opportunistic theses and practices of the three main variants of revisionism: Soviet, Yugoslav and Western. This confirms the ideological and political pressure exerted in an intertwining manner on our party and people by the various external class enemies. The hostile and regressive internal pressure is intertwined also with the hostile external pressure. They operate in a single front against our party and the working masses with the aim of creating the necessary ground and nutriment for the rightist opportunism, for the revisionism of one brand or the other.

The Seventh Party Congress called for an incessant struggle against manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in all the party links as an indispensable condition for preserving and implementing always a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

The party teaches us to look for and oppose rightist opportunism not only in manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, but also in their offspring such as technocracy, intellectualism, conformism, servilism, indifference and so forth. Opportunism appears and operates in all kinds of forms and shapes.

Let us take conservatism. Conservatism, just as liberalism, has never managed to become a disease for our party because of the constant struggle waged against it, a struggle intertwined with the struggle against liberalism. With determined aims, only the class enemies have accused our party as allegedly being conservative. According to the enemies, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, all those who remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, are conservatives. Under the cover of the struggle against conservatism, the enemies have opposed the party's revolutionary line, as did the group of F. Pacrami and T. Lubonja.

While opposing rightist opportunism, our party has never neglected nor neglects the struggle against the dangers posed by leftism, sectarianism and anarchism not only because if these dangers are forgotten and not opposed they could bear as harmful consequences as rightist opportunism, liberalism and bureaucracy, but also because rightist opportunism often appears in a "leftist" cloak.

The enemies frequently use this cloak to cover up their rightist inclination, their diversive and conspiratorial activity. Comrade Enver Hoxha

relates how the branded traitors--outright rightist enemies such as Anastas Lulo and Sadik Premte, Koci Xoce, Pandi Krilto and others--posed as leftists, allegedly as defenders of the interests of the proletariat. When they betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav revisionists as well emerged with "leftist" catchwords while they were leading the party and the country to the right, that is, toward capitalism. The Soviet revisionists also emerge with "Marxist-Leninist" catchwords and appear as if they are allegedly building communism, whereas in fact they are enemies of communism and have definitely turned to capitalism.

We see the leftist and sectarian attitudes also in the practice of some opportunistic elements who appear as "revolutionaries," "principled" and "strict" in implementing the principles and directives. This brand of "leftist" opportunism is also as harmful as liberalism, bureaucracy and conservatism.

Rigid and sectarian attitudes are encountered also among our people, among communists and cadres. The source of many of these manifestations lies in the opportunistic concept: To be on the safe side. On other occasions, there occur vacillations from one extreme to the other, from one rightist attitude to a "leftist" one and vice-versa. Attitudes of this kind are manifestations of petit bourgeois opportunism. This harms the party's line and it should be opposed systematically.

For these reasons our party, always keeping in mind that its main danger and enemy is rightist opportunism and revisionism and opposing this danger in all its forms and various manifestations, resolutely opposes also "leftist" opportunism and sectarianism.

It is these principles and revolutionary methods and practices that the AWP has followed. This is how it has continually waged the class struggle within its ranks in order to secure at every stage a correct Marxist-Leninist line, a steel-like ideological and organizational unity, proletarian characteristics for its members and an indivisible leadership regarding anyone and everything. The implementation of the Seventh Party Congress theses and decisions will raise to a higher degree the class struggle in the party, make the class struggle more effective and fruitful, so that our party may always remain a revolutionary party of the working class and lead the Albanian people with firm steps toward the complete building of a socialist society and communism.

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

INSURANCE GUIDELINES FOR MOTORISTS TRAVELING ABROAD

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Aug 77 p 2

[Interview with Lyubomir Naydenov, chief specialist at the General Insurance Directorate of the Bulstrad Bulgarian Foreign Insurance and Reinsurance Shareholding Company: "Insurance for Bulgarian Motorists Abroad"]

[Text] For one or another reason, thousands of Bulgarian citizens go to various parts of the world using their own or driving motor vehicles. In order to be compensated for in the case of eventual transportation accidents, they must take an insurance policy. How is this done? What should a Bulgarian motor traveler know prior to his departure? These and other questions are answered by Lyubomir Naydenov, chief specialist at the General Insurance Directorate of the Bulstrad Bulgarian Foreign Insurance and Reinsurance Shareholding Company.

1. [Question] What should Bulgarian motorists know prior to traveling abroad?

[Answer] They must assess accurately their time of stay abroad and, on this basis, take an insurance policy covering the entire period. This covers the time from leaving the exit border point to the entry border point in their return. Should despite this the period covered by the Civil Responsibility Insurance lapse the motorist must extend it with the local insurance organizations to the time of his entry into Bulgarian territory.

In addition to mandatory insurances, an insurance policy should be taken for the car and its passengers.

Before the trip they must read and become familiar with the instructions issued by Bulstrad, or its agencies at home, or with those issued by the Bulgarian Motorists Union.

2. [Question] What type of insurance should be taken by Bulgarian motorists traveling abroad?

[Answer] "Civilian liability" which covers the entire liability of the car's owner or driver for damages caused to third parties or to property outside the car. Such insurance is mandatory.

"Kasko" insurance covers damages caused to the car as a result of fire, thunder, natural catastrophes, collisions, a hit or overturning as the result of an accident, malicious actions caused by third individuals, or theft of the entire vehicle.

"Accident" covers the passengers' permanent disability or death as the result of an automobile accident, hospital and medical expenditures and the repatriation of the passengers and the driver of the motor vehicle.

3. [Question] What documents must be issued to the motorist traveling in a socialist country?

[Answer] "Insurance policy"--covering the three types of insurance, and a "blue card" for the "civilian liability" insurance.

4. [Question] What documents are necessary for traveling in a nonsocialist country?

[Answer] "Insurance policy," "blue card," and "green card" for "civilian liability" insurance.

5. [Question] What are the necessary documents for traveling only in Turkey or Greece?

[Answer] "Insurance policy," and "green card."

6. [Question] What is the procedure to be followed by Bulgarian motorists should an accident occur in a socialist country by their fault and not involving another car or other individuals?

[Answer] The case (event) must be certified and recorded by the respective administrative authorities. The victim must apply for help to the insurance organization on whose territory the accident occurred. In particularly severe cases the services of the local insurance organization must be used to request instructions from Bulstrad on how to proceed.

On the basis of the insurance documents the most urgent car repairs must be requested so that the car may become safely operational. Final and overall repairs are made in Bulgaria.

7. [Question] What should the Bulgarian motorist do should he be the liable party for damages caused to another motor vehicle abroad?

[Answer] He must present the "blue card" to the local administrative organs. If a document on the event has been drawn up he must have a copy which is submitted to Bulstrad on his return. Furthermore, he must immediately be in touch with the local insurance organization as stipulated in the "blue card" and request to be given protection on the basis of his "civilian liability" insurance. Naturally, he must observe most scrupulously Bulstrad's instructions.

8. [Question] How should a Bulgarian motorist act if the party liable for the accident is the driver of a foreign motor vehicle?

[Answer] He must record the addresses and precise names of the guilty driver and the accident witnesses and data on the insurance of the culprit, the name and address of the insurance organization, and the time covered by the insurance based on the stipulations of the "blue card" or "green card." He must request of the local insurance organization to draw up a list of the damages caused and that his car be fully repaired. He must request aid as well. The Bulgarian motorist does not pay anything.

9. [Question] What should a Bulgarian motorist know in the case of an accident in a nonsocialist country?

[Answer] Should an automobile accident occur by the fault of a Bulgarian or foreign motor vehicle driver the procedure is the same as in the cases explained in items 6, 7, and 8. It should be remembered that should the Bulgarian driver be asked to sign a protocol, report, or any other document whose content he does not understand, he must refuse. Should he be forced to sign it he must write under his signature "I do not understand the language." A Bulgarian motorist victim of an accident must contact Bulstrad through the local insurance organization for instructions in order to receive assistance based on the "Kasko" and "accident" policies.

10. [Question] What should Bulgarian victims of a motor vehicle accident do on their return?

[Answer] They must immediately present themselves to Bulstrad in Sofia and submit all documents related to the accident. Should this be impossible for motorists from the provinces, the latter should present themselves to the agencies in Varna, Burgas, Ruse, or the closest branch of the State Insurance Institute in their area.

5003

CSO: 2200

NEW CARDINAL HONORED AT PRAGUE RECEPTION

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 29, 17 Jul 77 p 1

[Article: "Meeting the Cardinal"]

[Text] On 4 July, the Vicar-general, Th Dr Frantisek Vanek, and the St Vitus Metropolitan Chapter held a ceremonial reception in the halls of the archbishop's palace in Prague to mark the elevation of bishop-apostolic administrator of the Prague diocese, His Eminence Monsignor Th Dr Frantisek Tomasek, to the rank of cardinal.

Present were bishop-apostolic administrator of Olomouc, Monsignor Th Dr Josef Vrana; bishop of Banska Bystrica, Monsignor Josef Feranec; bishop-apostolic administrator of Trnava, Monsignor Th Dr Julius Gabris; capitular vicar of Ceske Budejovice, Josef Kavale; capitular vicar of Litomerice, Josef Hendrich; capitular vicar of Hradec Kralove, Ph Dr Karel Jonas; capitular vicar of Brno, Prelate Ludvik Horky; capitular vicar of Spis, Stefan Garaj; and the ordinarius of Cesky Tesin and the chairman of the CSSR Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris, Th Dr Antonin Vesely. Representatives of the Czech Association together with representatives of the Slovak Pacem in Terris, led by chairman Canon Gejza Navratil, also took part in the reception.

The state administration was represented by directors of the secretariats for religious affairs of the CSSR Government Presidium Karel Hruza; of the CSR Ministry of Culture, Frantisek Jelinek; of the National Committee of the Capital City of Prague, Zdenek Bartunek, and their coworkers. The office of the president of the republic was represented by Dr Karel Mensik. Among the guests were likewise representatives of the Vysehrad, Karlstejn and All Saints chapters, representatives of the theological seminary of Cyril and Methodius in Litomerice and Bratislava, of the Czech Catholic Caritas, the Slovak Catholic Caritas, the St Adalbert Association, the editors of the Catholic press, vicars of the Prague archdiocese, many personal guests of the cardinal and consistory and chapter employees.

In his address welcoming the guests in the name of St Vitus' Chapter, Vicar-General Frantisek Vanek noted that the bestowal of the rank of cardinal on the bishop-apostolic administrator of Prague by the Holy Father Paul VI was not only a personal honor but at the same time an expression of

concern and love for our country. Apostolic administrator of Olomouc, Monsignor Th Dr Josef Vrana, extended congratulations to the new cardinal in the name of the Congregation of Ordinarii of the CSR and bishop apostolic administrator of Trnava, Monsignor Th Dr Julius Gabris, for the Congregation of Ordinarii of the SSR. In the name of the state administration greetings were transmitted to the cardinal by Karel Hruza, director of the Secretariat for Religious Affairs of the office of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government. The chairman of the movement Pacem in Terris in the CSSR, Th Dr Antonin Vesely, congratulated the cardinal in the name of the Association of Catholic Clergy, which carries on the positive work of the Movement of Catholic Clergy for Peace. He gave assurances that members of the Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris will, as faithful sons of their church, continue to support the bishops and ordinarii in their responsible work within the church and strengthen mutual relations with our socialist society. The new cardinal will surely adopt a positive attitude to this work, which is beneficial to church and country.

In expressing his thanks Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek said that he was assuming the high church office not only for his person alone, but because the nomination is also an expression of the attention the Holy Father Paul VI is paying to our country by having it also represented in the central organ of the church at large, which is composed of a small group of cardinals. The new cardinal expressed confidence in the continued favorable development of mutual relations between our state and the Holy See accompanied by good will. He stressed that the church is not concerned with the preservation of privileges but with implementing the idea of service benefiting all people of our country through the mission of bishops, clergymen and believers. Following the example of our Lord, it wishes to open its warm and consoling heart filled by mutual respect, tolerance, and especially by productive love, so needed in interpersonal relations to all fellow men. In his speech Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek further stressed that he will strive for a positive development of relations between the church and the state. This devoted service is designed to contribute to peace in the hearts of men and in the world, continued support of our socialist society and the patient improvement and cultivation of relations between people.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship and good fellowship.

8664

CSO: 2400

LUTHERAN BISHOP REPORTS ON DAR ES SALAAM MEETING

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Jul 77 p 5

[Interview with Dr Zoltan Kaldy, Lutheran bishop, by MAGYAR NEMZET's reporter: "A Significant Step Ahead"]

[Text] The Lutheran World Federation held its sixth general meeting between 13-26 June in Dar es Salaam, capital city of Tanzania. The meeting elected Dr Zoltan Kaldy, presiding bishop of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, to be a member of its 29-member executive committee. His assignment is for 7 years. We talked with him about the general meeting.

[Question] First of all we ask you to say a few words about the Lutheran World Federation itself.

[Answer] The Lutheran World Federation is the religious world organization of Lutheran churches located on six continents. It was formed in Lund, Sweden in 1947. It is the highest representative organ of about 70 million Lutherans. Presently 98 member churches belong to it. It holds a general meeting every 7 years. The resolutions passed by it show direction in the whole world for the Lutheran churches.

The largest Lutheran church on the African continent is in Tanzania. The interest toward Africa is very great the world over among Lutheran churches. Some of the Lutheran churches there are providing their service in areas-- I think primarily of South Africa and Southwest Africa--where racial discrimination has deteriorated to a burning issue. In other places the elimination of colonial rule is under way; still elsewhere the recently achieved national independence is threatened by new interferences. In many places there is great poverty.

[Question] How do you, Bishop, see the general meeting's work, direction and its resolutions passed on the issues of today's world?

[Answer] It is well known that often the Lutheran churches used to be called conservative with respect to political and social issues. Even if this designation was many times just in the past, I see that this old line

suffered a break in Dar es Salaam, and a significant step forward has taken place with respect to the Lutheran churches' relationship to the world's present questions. Instead of the "high theologization," a very decided turning to those issues with which our world is struggling has taken place. I see that a "conversion to the world" occurred, which the Hungarian Lutheran Church has been urging in the Lutheran World Federation for over 2 decades.

[Question] What decisions and resolutions were born at the general meeting in this context?

[Answer] In first place, I would like to mention the resolution entitled: "The social and political functions and responsibility of the Lutheran churches." The resolution begins with this introductory sentence: "The member churches of the Lutheran World Federation are to an increased degree aware of the churches' sociopolitical functions and responsibility and of the fact that it is necessary to provide theological and ethical foundations for these functions." The resolution then continues: "The churches cannot retreat from the responsibility, because they are organic parts of that society in which they exist. The member Lutheran churches must find the correct methods and forms of practicing their political and social responsibilities. It is improper to select the method of "adapting fully to their environment," because that way in many cases consciously or unconsciously they are also identifying themselves with such structures which maintain social and economic injustices. It is not correct either if the churches "completely withdraw" from the areas of social and political life. Thus they must practice their social and political functions in such a way that, while faithfully adhering to their religious principles, they "express their solidarity with the world."

[Question] As application of these principles, for the taking of what specific stands did the general meeting urge the 98 member churches?

[Answer] The general meeting represented very determined standpoints in several issues of today's world and urged the member churches for the same kind of determined position taking. It called upon the member churches to "take an active part in achieving East-West peace and further to promote the realization of fairness in the North-South conflict through their activity." After the general meeting established that "in the world economic order radical changes are necessary and that this is a decisive step in the interest of peace," it called upon the member churches to thoroughly study the "root causes of social and economic injustices on the one hand, and on the other hand to take active steps in the interest of peace and in the interest of radical changes in the economic structures." In the interest of researching the root causes of social injustices, they should hold consultations with the UNO's expert bodies. The member churches must support the process of international thawing.

[Question] Was a resolution passed in connection with the Helsinki Final Act?

[Answer] The Helsinki Final Act received very high billing at the general meeting and the general meeting called upon the member churches very unambiguously to support in their own places with all their might the realization of the principles contained in it. "Application of the Helsinki Final Act can serve the cause of peace in the entire world, just as it can serve the democratization of international economic relations and the creation of a new economic and international order," says the resolution. The general meeting sent the following message to the participants of the Belgrade conference: "The Lutheran World Federation at its Dar es Salaam meeting acknowledges with satisfaction the positive effects of the Helsinki agreement. Our world meeting respectfully greets the Belgrade conference as a consequence of the former. We are expressing our hope that your conference will strengthen those efforts which are aimed at the full-scale application of the basic principles laid down in the Helsinki Final Act." At the same time, the general meeting also turned to those member churches, which are located in the countries signing the Final Act, to raise their voices at their governments in the interest of assuring the application of the principles of the Helsinki agreement, and it asks the member churches to take part on a broader scale in the peace efforts. Further, the general meeting urged that the Lutheran World Federation should also continue its efforts in the interest of realizing all points of the Helsinki Final Act.

[Question] The problem of "human rights" must also have been discussed at the general meeting?

[Answer] This question came up with very much emphasis, since the general meeting was on African territory, and as we read in the introduction of the resolutions dealing with this: "We also paid particular attention to the suffering endured by people on this continent." The general meeting expressed its protest in the strongest terms against racial discrimination and apartheid. "We express our protest due to the constant danger of human dignity, and in this connection, against what the white minorities of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are doing, because they many times violate human rights. At the same time, we cannot remain silent with respect to the fact that numerous industrially developed countries, which are in manifold relationships with South Africa and its present regime, also bear particularly significant responsibility in these matters..." Following this, the resolution calls upon the Lutherans living in South Africa to "denounce this system and work for change." The resolution speaks separately to the South African white Lutheran churches also, and calls on them to realize that the South African situation today demands the faith's unambiguous decision: "This means, that on the basis of our faith, and in order to be able to show the unity of the church, the churches must publicly and unanimously reject the acceptance of the apartheid system." With respect to the Helsinki Final Act: "The general meeting hailed with pleasure the intent of the signatories, which recognizes that the application of human rights is a necessary part of security and cooperation among peoples." The resolution emphasized: "Effective protection of human

rights is necessary. Such structures and systems must be created which effectively protect the individual's and society's rights alike." The member churches "must provide practical assistance in this, with full commitment of their resources." Therefore, it urges the member churches to take the necessary and possible steps in all situations; for example, the full application of human rights must be urged, including the elementary rights to work, schooling and social services. The rights of those layers of the population must be promoted which are in disadvantageous situations, for example, women, youth, the aged and others.

[Question] How did the general meeting interpret, within human rights, the freedom of religion and conscience?

[Answer] Compared to the past, progress has been made here also. The general meeting emphasized: The task of Christians is to promote complete freedom of religion and conscience. And as to how the general meeting meant this, is obvious from this sentence: "At the same time we definitely state that freedom of religion also includes the right that if someone does not wish to belong to any religion, he or she should be free to do so."

[Question] In conclusion, please tell us about the work of the Hungarian Lutheran Church's delegation.

[Answer] First of all, I must tell you, that our church prepared a 120-page, English-language book for the general meeting and sent it to every participant of the general meeting. In this, we explained our positions about practically every theological, social and political question in today's world. We were the only church among the 98 member churches to do such work. We endeavored to serve not only our church but also our people.

8584
CSO: 2500

POLAND

POLISH WORKERS WRITE TO GIEREK, DEMAND JOBS BACK

Bonn DIE WELT in German 27 Aug 77 p 7 DW

[Article by Carl Gustav Stroem]

[Text] Munich--In a letter to party chief Edward Gierek, 43 Polish workers, who had been kicked out of their jobs for participating in the price-increase riots last year, have demanded to be reinstated in their jobs. "We demand full rehabilitation and reinstatement in our old jobs at the former wage conditions." The letter of the workers of Graudenz (Grudziadz) reads in part. The workers had been dismissed after the strike which erupted following the food price hikes ordered by the government in June 1976.

Prof Edward Lipinski, the dean of Polish economic sciences and simultaneously a leading member of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers, has called on Polish Prosecutor General Lucjan Czubinski to initiate legal action against those persons who persecuted and molested members and sympathizers of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers during the past few months. "I ask you," Lipinski declared in his letter to the prosecutor general. "to take the necessary steps to punish those guilty of violating the law, and I ask you, furthermore, to make restitution for the damage done to the victims."

Lipinski thereby obviously demands the punishment of members of the Polish secret police who made a name for themselves in acting against the committee.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

'POLITYKA' COMMENTS ON PRC IDEOLOGY, INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 30, 23 Jul 77 p 10,11

[Article by Janusz Lechowicz: "Maoism Still Alive"]

[Text] At the end of last year and at the beginning of this one the Chinese media for the communication of information began to publish information about riots and armed conflicts within many provinces of the country. News has reached us of the declaration of a state of emergency in 17 out of 19 units of provincial rank (Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupei, Honan, Shansi and others) and about the disposition of military units in state institutions, factories, schools and in the country.

At the same time Western press agencies, referring to Chinese radio stations, have transmitted information about stubborn battles in Wuhan, riots and clashes in the provinces of Kweichow and Szechwan, a tax on party committees in the provinces of Yunnan and Shantung, chaos in the province of Checheng, battles in Paoting and suppression of the riots there with the use of the armed forces.

Without evaluating the source and nature of the dissatisfaction of the working masses, the Chinese propaganda tries to lay the entire responsibility for the chaos and riots on a group of agitators removed from the government of the PRC [Chinese People's Republic] headed by Chiang Ch'ing and designated as the "gang of four." Under the motto of "establishment of the great order," they have repressed political opponents. In many provinces trials are continuing against every type of "enemy." Severe sentences are being inflicted and public executions are conducted, evidently to intimidate the people.

During the first months after the death of Mao Tse-tung the Chinese press showed certain new emphases which anticipated a gradual turn in the PRC away from the impractical principles of Maoism and a return of the PRC to the building of socialism.

The sober and constructive voices appearing in the PRC mass media on this question can be characterized as follows:

--It was stated in the economic sphere that: "The basic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the development of the economy," and that socialism cannot be built "...on the basis of backward creative sources."

They demanded an acceleration of the rate of economic development, an increase in accumulation, improvement in administration and the use of economic accounting and other scientific methods to stimulate production and to guarantee the profitability of enterprises.

--In the field of social relations they stressed the seriousness of the problem of the proper relationship between the authorities and other strata of Chinese society, particularly referring to cadre workers ("cadres"), the intelligentsia and national minorities (more than 50 national minorities, amounting to a total of about 50 million people, live in China).

--In the field of satisfying material needs, the working people have expressed their support for a necessary revision of policy on this matter. In a program article in PEOPLE'S DAILY, we read the following on this subject: "Constant improvement in the living conditions of the working people provides an incentive for the development of every active link in the economy and forms one of the most important factors in building a powerful socialist state."

--Finally, in reference to mass political campaigns which took place in the past, they acknowledged that serious mistakes and distortions were permitted during them. In evaluating the greatest of them, the Cultural Revolution, they made use of a modest assessment of Mao himself: "The Cultural Revolution was 70 percent achievement and 30 percent error."

It is not difficult to perceive that the concepts mentioned reflect the point of view of the pragmatic wing of the Maoists. They still remain in extreme contradiction to the radical concepts represented by the group headed by Chiang Ch'ing.

The specifics of the development of the internal PRC situation after the death of Mao Tse-tung seems to confirm that the new administration with Hua Kuo-feng at its head has essentially adopted the political concepts of the radicals, under whom the so-called "gang of four" was removed from the government and savagely attacked. Thus, despite the statements of Chinese propaganda, the internal PRC battle does not refer to the political line, but simply to power.

The crystallization of the internal and foreign policy of the administration of Hua Kuo-feng can be judged on the basis of particular program documents and by its practical activity.

The Maoist purpose, the transformation of China into a mighty world power by the year 2000, remains unchanged.

The Chinese administration is adopting methods aimed at the immortalization of the cult of Mao and his ideas. For this purpose on 8 October 1976 the Central Committee of the CCP [Communist Party of China], the Permanent Committee of the OZPL [National People's Congress], the PRC State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee passed special **resolutions** in reference to the construction of a monument, a mausoleum to the everlasting glory of Mao Tse-tung and publication of the fifth volume and of the complete collection of his works.

The fifth volume of the collected works of Mao Tse-tung appeared in April of this year, in an issue which is to reach 200 million copies. The selection of the works of Mao contained in the fifth volume, directed by an editorial staff guided by a special commission under the leadership of Hua Kuo-feng, plus the propaganda materials appearing in connection with the publication of this volume, fully confirms the affection of the current Chinese leadership to the ideological and political heritage of Maoism.

The works included in the fifth volume particularly publicize the Maoist theses which oppose the spirit and letter of Marxism-Leninism, such as: "The theory of continuing the revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat," "The theory of the class struggle and of antagonistic contradictions of socialist society," "Theses on the possibility of economic development by leaps" and so on.

In the program article written in connection with the appearance of the fifth volume of the works of Mao, Hua Kuo-feng stressed that: "...we must always carry the standard of Chairman Mao Tse-tung high and defend it steadfastly in order that our revolution may continue its victorious march forward...on the road marked out by the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao."

The HSINHUA news agency, publicizing the article of Hua Kuo-feng, particularly stressed these theses, which fully conform with Mao's line. Among other things, it is stated that if, by the time the people's government is set up in the PRC, the class struggle was continuing outside the party, then after taking power "...it should assume a particularly serious nature, because it is concentrated chiefly within the party," and that the main danger of the restoration of capitalism "...comes from persons advancing along the road of capitalism in the party." This is what they call those in PRC who, in one way or another, are not satisfied with Maoist dogma but interpret it differently. For this reason Hua recommends a need to "...grasp the class struggle as a decisive link" in solving all current problems in the country.

In order to achieve the goals outlined, it is intended to continue the policy of the "three red standards" (a new general party line, the Great Leap Forward and people's communes), publicized already in 1958 by

Mao Tse-tung. At the All-China Conference on the matter of disseminating the experience of the Tach'ing Petrochemical Plants, Hua Kuo-feng simply said: "Without doubt we shall build a new situation in the national economy, a situation for a multilateral leap." At this same conference the vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, the PRC Minister of Defense Yeh Chien-ying, proclaimed the need for militarization in every form of social life. He declared: "Tach'ing and Tachai are perfect examples of this direction."

Thus, in practice it is necessary to expect a dispersion of plants of the Tach'ing type and of districts of the Tachai type, where the principle is used of connecting industrial and agricultural activity, self-sufficiency, enthusiastic work without any material incentives and universal armament of the people organized into communes.

The year 1976 was proclaimed as the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. However, no data have been published about the performance of the past five-year plan nor about the assumptions of the current five-year plan. In conversations with foreigners PRC vice premiers Li Hsien-nien and Ku Mu acknowledged only that the assumptions for the five-year plan had not yet been completely worked out.

It is known from other sources that the Chinese are experiencing serious economic difficulties. At the end of last year even the leaders of the PRC evaluated the economic situation of the country as critical. The PEOPLE'S DAILY acknowledged that agricultural and industrial production in 1976 had dropped in comparison with the previous year. Special stress was noted in the production of steel, in the shipbuilding industry, in the machine industry and in petroleum extraction. Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien in his statement at the conference referring to Tach'ing stated that: "Last year many factories were inactive."

A difficult situation is also dominant in Chinese agriculture. In 1976 there was a drop in the grain harvest by about 5 percent in comparison with the previous year.

In this situation Peking was forced to increase imports of food. By the end of April of this year the PRC had made contracts for the delivery of 6.3 million tons of grain from the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries. At the same time the procedure for withdrawing agricultural crops from the country was sharpened. Under the semblance of battle with the consequences of the activity of the "gang of four," which allegedly aimed at keeping agricultural surpluses in the hands of the producers, demands for complete fulfillment of food quotas from the country became widespread.

However, the center of attention in the statements made by Hua Kuo-feng in 1977 is not economic affairs, but political affairs, such as: "Bring to an end the criticism of the "gang of four," a decision to defend Mao's line, wide development of mass political campaigns and consolidation of all forces.

Laying blame on the "gang of four" for all PRC failures, he calls for rapid compensation for losses, an increase in work intensity and extension of the working day without additional pay. Agriculture can count only on its own forces.

Most eloquent is the appeal made by Hua at the conference on the Tach'ing matter, such as, do not fear difficulties, do not fear death, do not aim at personal fame, do not aim at comfort, do not pay attention to working conditions, do not attach importance to working hours, do not be concerned with comfortable positions, do not limit yourself to the circle of your own obligations and it does not matter whether you are working at the "front" or in the "background."

The material situation of the working masses continues to be difficult. All demands concerning improvement in living conditions for the populace are defined as "revisionism" or "black economy," and the "gang of four" is made responsible for the infection of such "bourgeois principles" in certain areas of society. A card system is still maintained in the country for basic food and industrial goods.

According to information obtained in April of this year the PRC Central Committee addressed a letter to the party committees in ministries, provinces, cities, towns, key enterprises and military units, citing the particularly difficult economic situation of the country and announcing a temporary reduction in norms of supplying the populace with the most necessary goods. An appeal was spread throughout the countryside: "Tighten your belts more, work harder, to support our new Chairman Hua at this time which is so difficult for our country."

Thus the chances for improvement in the material situation of the masses are dim. These observations show that the goal of the Tach'ing and Tachai models is based on an insurance of growth in industrial and agricultural production to guarantee means for the development of the military and industrial potential of China at the cost of maximum physical effort by workers and a standard of life of hunger.

The Chinese Communist Party, which has over 30 million members, is as before a political organization basing its activities on the theoretical basis of the "ideas" of Mao Tse-tung.

As a result of the death of a number of leading CCP workers, as well as of the withdrawal of power from advocates of the "gang of four," the joint activity of party organs has been paralyzed. The last plenary meeting of

the CCP Central Committee took place in January 1975, even before the first session of the OZPL fourth term. At that time Hua Kuo-feng obtained the position of chairman of the CCP Central Committee without a decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

Four vice chairman positions in the CCP Central Committee are vacant. Of 25 members of the Politburo of the Central Committee, 16 have been kept, but this organ does not function, most probably because of the suspicion that some of its members have Chiang Ch'ing sympathies. In the light of the CCP statute passed at the 10th Congress, there is one more central directing organ of the party, the Permanent Committee of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee. In turn this cannot function for formal considerations, because only two of its members have survived.

Nothing indicates that a plenary meeting of the CCP Central Committee will be called in the near future for the purpose of complementing the composition of the party leadership. Experience with the activity of the Maoist party tends rather toward the assumption that it probably will not be held before the 11th Congress of the CCP. When this Congress will be held continues to be a great unknown. (The statutory term is every 5 years. The 10th Congress was held in September 1973.)

The matter of the joint activity of state organs does not look any better. Up to now there has only been one OZPL session, in January 1975, in the fourth term of parliament [sic]. In the light of the constitutional regulations, the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng to the position of PRC premier in February 1976 does not have any legal force either.

The organ formed to guarantee continuity of the parliamentary [sic] system of fulfilling authority in the light of the Constitution is the OZPL Permanent Committee (nominations for high government positions, explanation of the law, publication of resolutions and decrees with the force of law). Basically the OZPL Permanent Committee does not exercise these functions.

Instead of the normative activity at the Third Session of the Permanent Committee (30 November-2 December 1976), a discussion was held on the report of the chairman of the Permanent Revolutionary Committee and leader of the Peking Military District, Wu Te, "on the criminal activity of the gang of four," Teng Ying-chao (the widow of Chou En-lai) was elected to the position of vice chairman of the OZPL Permanent Committee, and Huang Hua was appointed to the position of PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Permanent Committee did not deal with other staff matters. Among others, the position of chairman of the OZPL Permanent Committee (after the death of Chu Te) is vacant, and this includes the titular functions of head of state.

This gives rise to the question of who exercises real authority in the PRC? The greatest attributes of party and state authority currently belong to the triumvirate consisting of the chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Hua Kuo-feng, the Minister of Defense Yeh Chien-ying, and the Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien. Again this is based on the fact that this "joint" triumvirate makes decisions in the name of the CCP Central Committee, the OZPL Permanent Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. This last organ is not provided for either in the constitution nor in the CCP statutes. In fact it plays a key role in the current administration of national affairs, constituting a natural route for orders downward through the military districts to the local revolutionary committees.

In speaking of the reigning triumvirate, it should not be forgotten that Hua Kuo-feng occupies the key position in it, as well as in the party, the government and the army. He exercises the functions of chairman of the CCP Central Committee, premier, chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, head of the armed forces, minister of public safety and first secretary and chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in Hunan. In this regard Hua has even outdistanced Mao himself.

The cult of the "genial leader" has been raised to unprecedented heights. Propaganda says that: "Love toward the genial leader, Chairman Hua, expresses in a condensed way love for the entire party, state, army and nation." A commentary on this matter seems superfluous.

During the period since the death of Mao Tse-tung, the intentions and plans of the new Chinese administration have become clear. It has become obvious that the PRC chairmen have no intention of reevaluating Maoist errors or of returning to the building of socialism and the construction of a positive program corresponding to the goals of the ambitious Chinese nation.

Thus the death of Mao Tse-tung did not automatically lead, and will not lead, to a rejection of Maoism as an ideology foreign to Marxism-Leninism. The PRC leaders still in power continue to represent nationalistic, great power and expansionist attitudes.

It appears as if the objective conditions of the country, such as economic underdevelopment, the decided prevalence of backward serfdom, the weakness and noninvolvement of the working class and the pressure of nationalistic tradition support the viability of Maoism. It is clear that these tendencies are not eternal, but the chances for the socialist development of China still appear to be remote.

6806

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU GIVES INTERVIEW TO SAAR RADIO AND TV

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Aug 77 pp 1, 3 AU

[Interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu for Saar Radio and Television on 29 July]

[Text] As has been announced, on 29 July Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Karl-Heinz Reintgen, deputy director general of Saar Radio and Television and member of the General Board of Coordination of FRG Radio and Television broadcasts, to whom he gave an interview.

[Question] Mr President, Romania has recently celebrated the Centenary Jubilee of its independence. What can you tell us about your country's present political, economic and military independence?

[Answer] The winning of state independence 100 years ago constituted a crucial point in Romania's subsequent development. Currently--after overthrowing the military-fascist dictatorship and after the political take-over by the workers class allied with the peasantry and the other social strata--Romania has become absolutely independent. It has done away with all types of dependence, of any kind, and has insured rapid socioeconomic progress and improvements in the people's material and intellectual living standard.

We may, therefore, state that the political, economic and military independence that Romania currently enjoys is the outcome of its entire socioeconomic development, the guarantee for the construction of socialism and for a policy of equality and peace.

[Question] For 10 years now Romania and the FRG have maintained diplomatic, cultural and economic relations. How do you view these relations today?

[Answer] Ten years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the FRG is a landmark at which to draw up a balance

sheet of the results attained during this period in developing cooperation in various areas of activity.

As you know, economic exchanges have greatly developed between Romania and the FRG, and this was also reflected in the fact that today the FRG is Romania's primary partner. Broad prospects exist for expanding economic exchanges and production sharing--in which context I want to mention the establishment of joint companies in several important fields of activity, and in particular the agreement recently concluded with the "Fokker" company on the production of aircraft.

[Question] Aside from Romanians, your country is populated by various other nationalities. Are they represented in the political life of the country, as for example, in the Grand National Assembly [GNA]? I am referring particularly to citizens of Hungarian and German origin. How have coinhabitation relations developed and been established between the various groups?

[Answer] We proceed from the fact that the existence in Romania of people of other nationalities is a result of historical evolution, and that, over the years, relations of close cooperation have been established between Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and people of other nationalities, and from the fact that everything that has been achieved in areas of coinhabitation is the result of their joint work. Romania's independence and the socialist construction are themselves a direct result of this cooperation.

The RCP, and, after the establishment of the socialist system, the socialist state, have always worked to achieve complete equality of rights among all the citizens, regardless of nationality. This is reflected in several factors, such as the economic development of all areas, the distribution of the production forces throughout the territory of the country so as to enable all working people, regardless of nationality, to secure living and working conditions. At the same time, we have insured complete equality of rights in the political sphere, by permitting participation with full rights by all the citizens, regardless of nationality, in the political life, in managing all sectors of activity. For example, of the 349 deputies in the GNA, 29--i.e. 8.3 percent--are Hungarians, and 8--i.e. 2.2 percent--are Germans, while, according to the recent census, the Hungarian population makes up less than 8 percent, and the German population 1.6 of the population.

The coinhabiting nationalities are also broadly represented in the people's councils. Naturally, in areas in which the other nationalities make up the majority, they also hold the majority in the respective people's councils.

The same applies to cultural rights, in that the nationalities may use their respective language in schools, cultural activities, courts and so forth.

[Question] Mr President, some Romanian citizens of German origin have requested to join their relatives and families in the FRG. How has family reunification proceeded so far, and what results have been obtained?

[Answer] Romania has always solved real problems of family reunification in a humanitarian spirit, considering that married couples or children and parents should live together. However, I must mention that in connection with these problems there have been distortions and attempts to use the problem of so-called family reunification to open the way to mass emigration of the population of German origin. Romania takes a resolute stand in this respect, and does not encourage such an emigration policy, in the belief that the place of people who settled in Romania hundreds of years ago is here, and that as until now, they must work in unity for the socioeconomic development of the country, for their future in the fatherland in which they were born.

Of course, we will continue to give our whole attention to the problems concerning family reunification and will endeavor to solve them appropriately.

[Question] In what areas do you think the Helsinki Conference will have most important consequences? Have your expectations been met? Will Romania continue the same sovereign course which is followed at the Belgrade preparatory meeting in June, where it supported mediation initiatives by nonbloc members on various issues?

[Answer] Romania regards the adoption of the Helsinki Document as a factor of historic importance for Europe, and resolutely advocated their complete implementation, viewing them as a unitary whole. Naturally, we place great emphasis on economic and military issues, in view of the fact that without military disengagement in Europe one can hardly talk of security and peace. At the same time, we work to develop cultural relations and relations in other areas, also as regards what is generally termed humanitarian issues.

We expect the Belgrade meeting to give an impetus to the implementation of those documents. Along this line, Romania, together with the participants in the preparatory meeting, is working for the adoption of solutions best suited to the interests of all the states and throughout the world.

[Question] In recent years Romania has played a particular role in seeking equitable solutions to the Middle East crisis. Do you plan to continue to play such a role?

[Answer] It can be said of Romania that it has always worked to find a solution to the Middle East conflict through peaceful negotiations, for a solution leading to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, and for solving the Palestinian problem, also by creating an independent Palestinian state. We believe that, given the

present-day conditions, this is the only realistic approach, the only one conducive to a lasting and just peace in that area. We will continue working in the future, too, for such a peace.

[Question] What do you think of the present relations between East and West?

[Answer] We incorporate the relations between East and West in our policy of developing relations between all the states, regardless of social system. Thus, we believe that it is in the interests of all the countries--both the socialist and of the capitalist countries, what is normally called the East and the West--to work to solve problems through negotiations, for an ever more active economic, cultural, scientific and political cooperation, and to achieve peaceful cooperation, based on respect for each people's right to organize its life independently, without any foreign interference.

Today more than ever we believe that the principles of full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, and nonrecourse to the use and threat of force must be observed in interstate relations.

[Question] The CEMA member states wish to have contacts with the members of the European community of Brussels. What do you hold as preferable, bilateral contacts, or agreements between the two economic communities?

[Answer] I would like to emphasize that both the CEMA member states and the members of the Common Market are interested in and act to develop mutual relations between themselves. In my opinion, the existence of these two economic organizations should not stand in the way of even more active cooperation between the countries belonging to the two economic organizations. Of course, since their existence is a reality of our era, it must permit solutions for both developing direct relations between the countries as members of the two economic organizations and for developing relations through their respective organizations, to the extent that this is one of the competences of one or the other of the organizations.

Romania, therefore, acts to develop both direct relations--by conducting a series of direct dialogs with the Common Market on issues in which it is interested--and at the same time, advocates direct agreements between the two economic communities, which, however, should not in any way affect each country's right to pursue its own policies, as it sees fit, independently.

[Question] What is your opinion of the so-called Eurocommunism in the Western countries?

[Answer] As is known, the idea of Eurocommunism is still rather new, and has emerged more or less accidentally, not as the result of a new ideological and political concept.

We understood, and continue to believe, that by adopting the concept of Eurocommunism, certain communist parties in the West have sought to emphasize the fact that, in their activities, they must take into account the historical and socioeconomic realities prevailing in their respective countries. However, I must confess that I see nothing new in this, since Romania, like other countries which have adopted the path of socialism, has worked and continues to work to build the socialist society on the basis of its own socioeconomic and historical realities. No country, and thus no West European country, can consider switching to the creation of a new social system while ignoring the realities amid which it is to be built. From this viewpoint, the concept of Eurocommunism poses no problems for the RCP, and we believe that it should in no way be measures against the socialism that is currently being built in Romania or in other countries. On the contrary, respecting each one's right to map out its own program and path toward socialist and democratic development, we believe that cooperation and solidarity must be strengthened in solving complex problems of common interest, such as security, peace, the new economic order and the establishment of a new, better and more just world on our planet.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

'AGERPRES': PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO HORN OF AFRICA DISPUTE

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 6 Aug 77 LD

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6 Aug--Strengthening the unity and solidarity of African countries is an important condition of their free and independent development.

The renewing changes taking place in Africa [word indistinct] the affirmation internationally of the young states are offered a fierce position by the reactionary circles [words indistinct] of capitalist [word indistinct], of multinational societies and foreign imperialist circles, which do not give up their policy of dominating and oppressing other peoples, their positions hold in strategic regions of Africa. These forces oppose overtly the consolidation of national independence in Africa, try to slacken the unity of African peoples, scheme armed interventions, subversive actions and coup d'etats, recruitment of hirelings, incite to disputes and conflicts between various states on complex, especially territorial problems inherited from the period of imperialism and colonialism. Particularly dangerous to African unity and solidarity, to the cause of peace and security are the states of tension in the "African horn," violent military clashes between some neighboring African countries.

Romania most firmly declares for the attempts at solving these problems by force to be avoided, as it can only be beneficial to the imperialist circles, generate fresh conflicts and tension. It is necessary that everything be done for the settlement of the disputes by political, peaceful negotiations, between the countries directly concerned, based on full respect of every people's freedom and independence. The settlement by direct negotiations of the problems arising between various African countries under conditions of regard, mutual esteem and receptiveness derives from the very obligations assumed by the respective countries in their position as members of the U.N., of the nonaligned movement and of other regional organizations, like the OAU and the League of Arab States.

Experience of international life demonstrates that when the conflicting parties prove realistic-mindedness and wisdom, reason and wish of understanding, refrain from force, from hostile actions, from deliberate

labelings and mutual accusations, any problem facing the zone can be settled in conformity with the major desiderata and vital interests of the African peoples of international peace and understanding.

Socialist Romania, which promotes relations of multilateral collaboration with all developing countries, will actively back in the future, too, the efforts of African states for independent economic development, the attainment of their legitimate (?ambitions) after a free and dignified life, on the road of prosperity and social progress. The essential condition for the attainment of these goals is permanent efforts that should be furthered still more energetically and in a new spirit, for strengthening the African states' unity and solidarity, the resolute and constructive actions that have to be taken to this end.

CSO: 2020

'AGERPRES': SOLUTION TO WORLD'S PROBLEMS IS IN TALKS NOT ARMS

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0917 GMT 16 Aug 77 AU

["Romania Consistently Declares for Elimination of Force From Interstate Relations"--AGERPRES heading]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/8/1977--A permanent feature of the foreign policy promoted by Romania with a view to establishing new interstate relations based on the principles of international law and ethics, is its militant attitude for the elimination for good and all of force or its threatened use from international life, for the peaceful, political solving of the litigious problems, of all problems that may occur among states. The main preoccupation Romania shows for the abolition of the policy of strength in inter-state relations is based on the tragic experience of a more or less far history, on the primordial interests of all peoples.

It is a well-known fact that Romania most resolutely declared against the imperialist practices of aggression and dictate, of using force or threatening with its use, of exercising military pressure or economic coercion against any attempt to solve the problems among states with the help of the arms. Romania has always consistently worked for the extinction of the hotbeds of conflicts no matter where they appear. Romania insistently showed that the practices of the policy of strength, of resorting to military means for solving the disputes are incompatible with the demands for relations of trust and cooperation and represent a permanent source of tension spelling serious dangers at the general cause of peace. In this sense, Romania has perseveringly worked for firm pledges on an international plane as regards the renounce [as received] of force, for guarantees that one should not resort to force under any pretext and in any circumstance, in order to solve the disputes, to impose the will of a state on another one.

In keeping with these fundamental desiderata, Romania has included the principle of renouncing of force or its threatened use in the treaties and solemn declarations, in all documents she signed with other states.

At the same time, Romania sponsored the inclusion of a set of measures for rendering effective the non-recourse to force or its threatened use, inclusive of the reduction and, in the long run, for the liquidation of the very instruments of the policy of strength--the arms, as a separate subchapter of the final act of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe. This is a new and telling proof of a lofty sense of responsibility towards a cardinal aspect of European security. It is on this line that goes down the proposal advanced by Romania as regards the conclusion of an all-European treaty consecrating the pledge of renouncing force and threat with force--as a foundation to a solid system of European security.

Romania also acts perseveringly for the negotiation of any conflictual situation, for the extinction of the hotbeds of tension existing in the world.

Naturally, in the case of the national liberation fights it is the right of each people to work as it considers necessary for conquering independence and sovereignty. But everything should be done so that in interstate relations problems be solved by political means. The whole experience of international life shows that the solving by this means is fully possible if one sets out from the will that, in no case and under no pretext, one should reach military confrontations, that one should approach the litigious questions in a constructive spirit, and evince the required restraint bearing in mind that any confrontation gives birth to serious dangers both for the respective peoples and for the indivisible cause of general peace.

It is in this spirit that Romania has always carried on an intense activity for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflictual situations among states no matter where they should appear. Well known are the demarche and the political and diplomatic activity of Romania for a solution to the situation in the Middle East setting out from the consideration that the solving of the problems in the region cannot be reached by way of arms but through negotiations with account being taken of the interests and legitimate rights of all peoples involved in the conflict as well as of the interests of international peace and security. Romania has declared also for the political, negotiated settlement of the Cypriot question, for ways ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the two communities--Greek and Turkish.

It is a well-known fact that in various regions of the globe the long colonialist period has left deep traces, thorny questions and unresolved situations linked also to territorial aspects, to the very process of the nations' formation and organization. But the tragic experience of armed conflicts in the very near past or even present ones, such as the conflicts among some African countries, proves the fact that it would be an illusion to believe that the respective problems could be solved by arms. On the contrary, this cannot but complicate things, add new elements of

tension, generate fresh confrontations and conflicts which, in the last analysis, render more difficult the finding and crystalization of judicious, equitable solutions, serving only the imperialist circles, those reactionary forces pursuing the division of the peoples that have recently won independence, instigating them one against the other.

More stringent appears in the case of the young states the necessity of rejecting the policy of military confrontation, the must of solving by political means the outstanding problems as it is the case of the countries which, as a consequence of the long colonial domination, are faced by huge tasks for doing away with underdevelopment and filling the gaps, for speeding up the forward march of society, for improving the welfare of the respective peoples. Or, it is clear that military confrontations cannot but curb these efforts hampering the channeling of all forces and energies towards peaceful, constructive aims.

Romania, which nurtures feelings of profound sympathy for all countries which embarked on the path of self-dependent development, has always declared for everything to be done for avoiding the solving of litigious questions by force, for rallying the efforts pursuing their discussion and solving by negotiations based on full equality, in the spirit of understanding and respect for the legitimate interests of each and every nation.

By virtue of this desideratum, socialist Romania will campaign henceforth, too, most firmly for the definitive elimination of force from inter-state relations, for the extinction of any hotbed of conflict and the solving of all disputes and misunderstandings among states not by armed confrontations, but by contacts and negotiations, opening wide possibilities to the assertion of new relations of equality, of mutual respect and friendly collaboration among states, so that the peoples should devote their creative forces to peaceful, constructive work, to their economic and social progress.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

COMMUNIQUE ON MANESCU'S FINNISH VISIT

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Aug 77 p 5 AU

[Text of Romanian-Finnish Joint Communique on Romanian Premier Manea Manescu's Visit to Helsinki 15-19 August 1977]

[Text] At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland Kalevi Sorsa the Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania Manea Manescu paid an official visit to Finland 15-19 August 1977.

The premier of the Romanian Government had a talk with the President of the Republic of Finland Urho Kekkonen. On this occasion, the premier of the Romanian Government extended, on behalf of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu a message of warm friendship and cordial greetings and wishes for health and personal happiness to the president of the Republic of Finland as well as wishes for progress and prosperity to the Finnish people.

The President of the Republic of Finland Urho Kekkonen expressed thanks for the friendly message and asked the premier of the Romanian Government to convey to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu cordial greetings and best wishes for success and personal happiness and to the Romanian people best wishes for progress and well-being.

The Premier of the Romanian Government Manea Manescu and the Finnish Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa conducted official talks during which they made an extensive analysis of relations between the two countries, especially in the economic field, and of certain current international questions.

The talks were attended for the Romanian side by: Gheorghe Petrescu, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Machine-Building; Vasile Gliga, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Constantin Vlad, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Finland; Alexandru Ignat, counselor to the premier; Iuliu Dobroiu, director in the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs; and Dumitru Munteanu, director in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and for the Finnish side by: Paavo Vayrynen, minister of foreign affairs; Matti Hakkanen, Finnish Ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Romania; (Jaakko Iloniemi), deputy secretary general in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; (Paavo Rantanen), director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; (Klaus Tornuud), director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other officials.

Continuing the dialog begun in Bucharest in 1974, the two premiers noted with satisfaction the development of relations of fruitful cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and tourist fields in the spirit of the summit understandings concluded during the visit of the President of the Republic of Finland, Urho Kekkonen, to Romania in 1969 and the visit of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu to Finland in 1971, as well as during the meeting between the two heads of state in Helsinki in August 1975. They expressed the determination of their governments to continue to make every effort to promote mutually advantageous trade exchanges and economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation.

The two sides noted that broad opportunities exist for cooperation in various fields, including third markets, and especially in such fields as machine-building, mining, oil and geology, as well as in the scientific-technical field.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the proceedings of the last session of the Joint Commission for Trade Exchanges and Economic Cooperation and instructed the Romanian and Finnish representatives to continue their sustained activity with a view to implementing the measures agreed upon during the visit.

Stressing the importance of the long-term agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation for developing bilateral relations in the economic field, signed in 1976, the two sides agreed to encourage enterprises in their countries to fully utilize opportunities for cooperation available in the industrial potential in Romania and Finland.

During the visit, the sides signed a convention on avoiding double taxation on incomes and property and a medical-veterinary agreement between the two countries.

The sides expressed satisfaction with Romanian-Finnish cooperation in the cultural, artistic and educational fields on the basis of the cultural agreement signed in 1974 and agreed to continue to support intensified contacts and exchanges of cultural values with the view to getting to know each other better and with a view to strengthening mutual understanding between the two peoples.

In examining current major international questions, the two premiers noted with satisfaction the concordance or closeness of their viewpoints, as well as their common desire to actively participate in discussing and resolving the problem confronting international life.

The Finnish side praised Romania's foreign policy of developing friendly relations with all states and its active contribution to strengthening peace and international security.

The Romanian side voiced appreciation of the active neutrality policy promoted by Finland and its efforts aimed at peace and the development of international cooperation.

Stressing the positive changes that have taken place in recent years in the world arena favoring peace and international understanding, the two premiers expressed their conviction that the normal development of relations among states, regardless of their socioeconomic system, requires that these relations be based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, non-recourse to the use or threat of force and mutual advantage. The two sides expressed their determination to continue to take firm action to establish these principles in all international life.

Both sides stressed that the process of detente must be continued and deepened through efforts by all states, regardless of size, so that this process will become a lasting feature of present-day life. Discussing matters pertaining to the conference on security and cooperation in Europe [CSCE] the two sides stressed the important role of the final document signed in Helsinki over 2 years ago aimed at strengthening peace and developing cooperation on the basis of fully equal rights among the participating countries in the conference. The two sides stressed the need for persevering efforts by all participating states, in a spirit of broad cooperation and understanding, aimed at developing the process of establishing security and developing cooperation in Europe.

In hailing the successful conclusion of the [Belgrade] preparatory meeting, the sides stressed that the meeting of the representatives of participating countries in the CSCE, which is scheduled to begin 4 October 1977 in Belgrade, is called upon to adopt decisions aimed at continuing and accelerating the resolute implementation by all participating states of the principles and provisions of the [Helsinki] Final Document, so that progress is achieved in military disengagement and disarmament and that economic, industrial, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation can develop freely and so that multilateral cooperation initiated by the CSCE can continue in organized forms.

The two sides voiced appreciation of the efforts made by Romania and Finland aimed at developing relations of friendship, cooperation and good neighborliness in the geographical areas where they are located. This

is a contribution to strengthening the climate of detente, trust and security in Europe.

The sides believe that it is necessary to adopt tangible measures to develop cooperation and equitable economic exchanges in Europe, in mutually advantageous forms and methods. They expressed their interest in continuing in a constructive spirit the examination of aspects of organizing meetings, with the participation of all European states, devoted to these problems.

The two sides believe that one of the problems of interest to all states is to eliminate underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order. They asserted their determination to take action aimed at narrowing existing chasms between developed and developing countries and at facilitating access to modern technologies and to the achievements of the current scientific-technical revolution and facilitating the economic progress of the latter countries.

The two sides expressed their deep concern over the continuation of the arms race, which entails increased danger for world peace and for mankind's future. They believe that effective measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, must be adopted under efficient international supervision. They expressed the hope that the future special session of the UN General Assembly will be an important step toward this end.

Both sides expressed deep concern over the existing situation in the Middle East and spoke out for a rapid political solution of the conflict in that area. They believe that it is necessary to take persevering action to reach a peaceful settlement of this situation and to resume the Geneva Conference as soon as possible with the participation of all states concerned, including the PLO, and with the more active participation of the United Nations in resolving the conflict.

The two premiers stressed the support their countries grant to the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples for completely eliminating colonialism and neocolonialism, the racist and apartheid policy and any forms of foreign domination over other peoples. The sides spoke out for supporting the struggle waged by the South African people for freedom and democracy, for achieving their sacred right to a free and dignified life. They expressed their feelings of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in Namibia and Zimbabwe for freedom and independence. The sides expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle of peoples in southern Africa for defending their fatherland's freedom and independence.

Expressing concern over the existence of conflicts in the world, the two sides voiced their determination to make their full contribution to resolving differences by means of negotiations and to creating a favorable

climate and conditions for avoiding and resolving any difference between states by political means.

The sides were of the opinion that the solving of the complex economic and political problems facing present-day mankind requires cooperation among all states on the basis of fully equal rights.

The two sides will act to strengthen the role of the United Nations with a view to preserving peace and strengthening security and with a view to resolving international problems--achieving of a new economic order, general disarmament, and promoting and stimulating cooperation among all states in the most varied fields and on the basis of equality of rights.

The premier of the Romanian Government visited the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Pori and Turku. He called on industrial enterprises maintaining economic relations, or in the process of establishing cooperation ventures, with Romanian enterprises, as well as on sociocultural establishments.

The Premier of the Romanian Government Manea Manescu and the Prime Minister of Finland Kalevi Sorsa expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, and stressed the importance of continuing contacts at all levels between the two countries.

The Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania Manea Manescu invited the Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland Kalevi Sorsa together with his wife to pay an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established through diplomatic channels. Helsinki, 18 August 1977.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ADDRESS ON NAMIBIA QUESTION--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12/8/1977--Addressing the UN Council on Namibia, the Romanian chief delegate, Ambassador Ion Datcu warmly welcomed the presence of the SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, and reasserted Romania's stand on principle of militant solidarity with the righteous cause of the Namibian people. Romania, he said, was the first country to have concluded in 1973 an international document with SWAPO, following the talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Sam Nujoma, document that made a substantial contribution to the international recognition of SWAPO, providing also a solid foundation to the further strengthening and development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Namibian peoples. The Romanian representative highlighted Romania's stand and activity in the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Council on Namibia to support the fight for Namibia's liberation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1000 GMT 12 Aug 77 AU]

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